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THE UNITED STATES SENATE: ITS ORIGIN, PERSONNEL AND ORGANIZATION.

BY THE HON. W. A. PEFFER, LATE U. S. SENATOR FOR KANSAS.

BEING Englishmen, the founders of the colonies from which grew the United States knew little of any form of government other than that of Great Britain, so their descendants, when they came to form a government of their own and to organize its powers, were naturally inclined to adopt the English system in so far at least as it would not interfere with the free exercise of popular rights; accordingly, the builders of the Constitution, when they had agreed that the legislative department of the proposed government should consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, and when their discussions turned upon the materials of which the Senate should be composed, frequently alluded to the House of Lords and the character and qualifications of its members as models fit to be studied.

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, said he "wished that the Senate might consist of the most distinguished characters—distinguished for their rank in life and their weight of property."

Colonel Mason, of Virginia, favored a property qualification for members of the upper house, and a "long tenure of office."

Much time was spent in the convention considering the best methods to secure a high order of men for Senators. Mr. Hamilton, of New York, thought that they ought to be chosen by electors selected by the people in election districts. Mr. Randolph said the lower house was the proper body to select the membership of the upper house.

While there was diversity of opinion among the delegates concerning the number of Senators, the manner of choosing them, their duties, etc., there was a general agreement that it would be well to provide for one legislative body whose members would probably be selected with more care than would likely be exercised

by the people at large in popular elections, and who, therefore, would presumably be less susceptible to influences of sudden movements among the voters. Mr. Madison said : “ The use of the Senate is to consist in its proceeding with more coolness, with more system and with more wisdom than the popular branch.”

Three of the four drafts of a constitution submitted to the convention provided for a lower and an upper house of the national legislature.

The then existing government of the United States was administered by the Continental Congress, a body composed of able, patriotic, brave men, but they had not authority to levy taxes or collect revenues or coin money. They were not empowered to regulate commerce, either domestic or foreign. In the Articles of Confederation each State retained its “ sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right,” which was not by the Confederation “ expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.” It was conceded on all hands that a stronger government was necessary for the safety of the Republic—a government with full powers for national purposes, having original and exclusive jurisdiction over all matters appertaining to the people of the United States as a nation, and the convention called for May 14, 1787, at Philadelphia, was held for the purpose of preparing a form for such a government. The defects of the existing arrangement were set out in the objects sought to be accomplished by the Constitution as they are expressed in the preamble : “ To form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

The first section of the first article of the Constitution provides that “ all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.”

In enumerating the powers deemed necessary for the successful operation of the new government machinery, the several States were required to surrender some important prerogatives of sovereignty, and in order to make sure that they would not be overreached by the Federal power and that the small States would not be crowded to the wall by the larger ones, it was provided that not only should there be two Houses of Congress, but that

“no State without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.” And to make it reasonably certain that every State would always be represented in the Senate, it was further provided that each State should have two Senators, one in each of two of the three classes into which the Senate was to be divided, and that each Senator should have one vote.

The Senators first chosen answered well to the ideals outlined by delegates in the convention which created the office of Senator. One-half of them had been members of the convention that framed the Constitution, and seventeen of the twenty-two had taken part in the work of the Continental Congress. Eleven of them were lawyers, and among the other half the record shows one merchant, one man of business, one physician and one farmer.

It is provided in the Constitution that the Senators, “immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of their first election, shall be divided as equally as may be in three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year.” In pursuance of this provision the members of the Senate, at its first session, divided themselves by lot into three classes, according to the following order :

“Ordered, That the Secretary put into the ballot box three papers of equal size, one of which shall be numbered 1, one of which shall be numbered 2, and one of which shall be numbered 3. The Senator from each of said States whose name comes first in alphabetical order shall thereupon, in the presence of the Senate; draw one of said papers from the box in behalf of his State. The Senators from the States drawing the paper numbered 1 shall thereupon first be assigned to their respective classes. The Senators from the States drawing paper number 2 shall next be assigned to their respective classes. The Senators from the States drawing paper number 3 shall next be assigned to their respective classes.”

That classification has been strictly followed from that time to the present. Every Senator chosen since from any of the States then and there represented has gone into the class of his first predecessor in line, and when a new State has been admitted its first Senators were assigned to their classes by lot, just as was done in the first instance, and their successors have followed in the same classes. This classification of its members makes the Senate a permanent and continuing body. Two-thirds of its members

are always in office. There is never less than a quorum of its members ready for duty. The House of Representatives is chosen anew every two years. No member of that body ever holds over. When the House adjourns *sine die* at 12 M., March 4, of the odd numbered years, the term of that House is ended and until the new Congress meets there is no House of Representatives. When the members chosen at the last election meet in special or regular session, they must organize by choosing a speaker, clerk and sergeant-at-arms before they can do any business, even to the extent of receiving a message from the President. It must adopt new rules or re-adopt old ones. In law and in fact it is wholly a new body fresh from the people, though some of its members may have been there before.

Not so with the Senate. Its officers hold continuously until they are relieved by the choice of others. The Senate is always organized. The rules of the body never change or they go out of force only in accord with methods provided in the rules themselves. On the incoming of a new administration, March 4, at 12 o'clock M., the Senate is then regularly in session, for that is the closing hour of a term of Congress—two years. The new Vice-President appears at the side of his retiring predecessor and receives the oath of office from him. This done, the old Vice-President formally declares the Senate adjourned *sine die* and hands the gavel over to his successor, who says, "The Senate will be in order," and at once proceeds to business, without the least confusion or interruption. He enters immediately upon the discharge of his duties. The officers of the Senate are present in their places, the reporters at their tables, the sergeant-at-arms and his corps of assistants—all on duty, and the standing and select committees of the body are ready to receive and consider any matter that may be referred to them. The Senate is already organized. In law and in fact it is now the same body that counted its first quorum on the 6th of April, 1789.

The effect of this continuity of the Senate has been to give character and weight to its proceedings, to inspire confidence at home and insure respect abroad. Such a body, clothed as this is with the power of ratifying treaties, renders complications with foreign governments less probable and our obligations more likely to be observed.

One-third the Senators being chosen every second year, they

are inducted into office at the first session of the Senate after their election, but that in no way affects the organization or the business of the body. The Senate could proceed without them.

The installation of the new Senators is a very simple proceeding. As their names are called in alphabetical order by the Secretary of the Senate they go forward to the Vice-President's desk, escorted usually by their State colleagues, and they take the oath of office in the following form :

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies; foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion; and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter. So help me God."

This form of oath was prescribed by statute July 11, 1868. The old form provided June 1, 1789, was short :

"I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will support the Constitution of the United States."

If, for any reason, the Vice-President-elect should not appear at the beginning of the session, the duties of his office are performed by the President *pro tempore*; and in case of the latter's absence another Senator previously agreed upon would take the oath and discharge the duties of the chair until the Vice-President appear or the Senate determine otherwise.

If a vacancy happen in a Senator's term by death, resignation or otherwise, during a recess of the legislature of his State, the Executive thereof may make a temporary appointment to hold until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancy. The person so appointed or elected does not hold beyond the end of that senatorial term. In case the legislature fail to choose a Senator at the proper time the Governor is not authorized to appoint. The vacancy continues until the next meeting of the legislature. The word "meeting" in this case is construed to include the whole session.

"No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen." No Senator shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the United States which shall have been created, or of which the emoluments shall have been increased, during such term. No person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of the Senate during his continuance in such office. No person shall be a Senator who having as a Federal or State officer, taken an oath

to support the Constitution, afterwards engaged in rebellion against the United States, unless Congress remove such disability.

Usually men beyond middle age are selected for Senators. In 1893 the average age in the Senate was 58 years. The oldest member was 83, the youngest 39. The oldest member of the body at any time is now (May, 1898) in office—Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, who was born April 14, 1810, and is therefore in his eighty-ninth year. He has been longer in the Senate, too, than any other man, having entered on the fourth day of March, 1867, and he has been returned regularly ever since. His present term expires March 4, 1903. Henry Clay entered the Senate at an earlier age than any other. He was appointed November 19, 1806, to fill a vacancy. Mr. Clay was born April 12, 1777.

Nine hundred and seven different men have been members of the Senate. Among the curious facts connected with the personal history of some of them may be mentioned these : General James Shields represented three different States in the Senate, Illinois from March 4, 1849, till March 3, 1855 ; Minnesota from May 12, 1858, till March 3, 1859 ; Missouri from January 24, 1879, till March 3, 1879. Three men of the same family—James A. Bayard, his son of the same name, and his grandson, Thomas F. Bayard, represented Delaware—the first from January, 1805, till March, 1813 ; the second from April, 1867, till March, 1869, and the third from March, 1869, till March, 1885. Three other men of the same family name also represented Delaware in the Senate—Joshua Clayton from January 19, 1798, till his death the following July ; Thomas Clayton from January 8, 1824, till March 3, 1827, and again from January 9, 1837, till March 3, 1847 ; John M. Clayton from March 4, 1845, till February 23, 1849, and again from March 4, 1853, till his death, November 9, 1856. Three men named Bell—two of them brothers, the third a son of one of them, represented New Hampshire in the Senate—Samuel Bell from March 4, 1823, till March 4, 1835, his son, James Bell, from July 30, 1855, till May 26, 1859, and Charles Henry Bell from March 13, 1879 till June 17, 1879. Nineteen of the Senators' names begin with "Mc," twelve of them were named Smith, and Johnsons and Browns were represented by eight each. At one time during the Cleveland administration both of the Senators from each of three different States resided in the same city, and three Senators occupying adjoining seats and represent-

ing two States, were born in adjoining counties in one State. In 1892 two Senators, representing one State, had been private soldiers in one and the same volunteer regiment of the Union Army.

Of the 907 Senators, seventeen afterward became Presidents of the United States—Monroe, Adams (J. Q.), Jackson, Van Buren, Harrison (Wm. H.), Tyler, Pierce, Buchanan, Johnson, Garfield and Harrison (Benjamin).

Two hundred and twenty-eight of them resigned and one hundred and ten died while in office.

The first Senator that died during his term was Wm. Grayson, of Virginia, whose death occurred March 1, 1790. The custom of taking public and official action on the decease of a Senator and of incurring expense on account thereof, was of slow growth. During the first thirty-seven years of the Senate's history twenty-two of its members died and no expense was incurred by Congress in that behalf. The first record of the Senate's official action of any character in such cases appears in the *Journal* of January 24, 1799, as follows: "Resolved, That a committee be appointed to take order for superintending the funeral of the said Henry Tazewell, Esq., and that the Senate will attend the same, and that notice of the event be given to the House of Representatives, and that this committee consist of Messrs. Mason, Brown and Marshall."

The first time any part of a deceased Senator's funeral expenses was paid out of public funds was on the occasion of the death of John Gaillard, of South Carolina, who died February 26, 1826. Two other Senators died that year—Nicholas Van Dyke, of Delaware, May 19, and Joseph McIlvaine, of New Jersey, August 19. The average public expense incurred on account of these three deaths was \$292.47. Within the next twenty-two years—from 1826 to 1847 inclusive, twenty-seven Senators died, and the remains of eleven of them were interred at the government's expense. The average expenditure in those cases was \$618.80. From 1848 to 1867, inclusive, twenty-eight Senators died, and eighteen of them were buried by the Senate at an average expenditure of \$1,365.13. The record from 1869 to 1894* shows thirty deaths in the Senate, and all but five of

* There have been three deaths in the Senate since 1894, but this writer has not inquired about the details of their obsequies. Presumably the precedents were followed in each case.

these were the occasion of more or less outlay of public money, the aggregate amounting to \$68,849.96, an average of \$2,754. In all, up to 1894, there were fifty-four interments from and by the Senate, and the last thirteen cost more, by \$4,139.82, than all of the other forty-one. The total amount of public moneys expended on account of Senatorial funerals, up to 1894, is \$100,-234.18, ranging from \$4.50 in one case to \$21,322.55 in another. The average is \$1,856.37.

These funeral occasions are now accompanied by a great deal of ceremonial display. The casket is placed in the open space in front of the reporters' tables, and the services are attended by the President and Cabinet, the House of Representatives, the Justices of the Supreme Court in their black robes, and, in full court dress, the resident ambassadors and ministers of foreign countries. Each of these bodies, as they approach the outer door of the chamber, is announced by the doorkeeper, and the Senators rise to receive them. When the services are concluded a committee previously appointed, usually consisting of five Senators and an equal number of members of the House, accompany the remains of the deceased to his home and witness the interment there.

At first it was only in cases of death at the Capitol during a session of Congress that the Senate felt called upon to make a national matter of the funeral and draw on the contingent fund to defray the expenses. Latterly a custom has grown to send a committee to attend the ceremonies of interment when a Senator dies at home while Congress is in session. The last instance of this proceeding occurred in 1894, at a cost to the government of \$1,171.92.

In connection with the decease of Senators a memorial service is held in the Senate chamber a month or so after the time of the death, when addresses are delivered in memory of the dead Senator. These addresses are usually very carefully prepared. They are printed in the Congressional Record, the same as remarks submitted in the same place on other subjects, and they are also printed in book form, eight thousand copies in each case (under existing law), two thousand for the use of the Senate, four thousand for the use of the House of Representatives, one thousand nine hundred and fifty for the use of Senators and Congressmen from the State of the deceased and fifty copies in extra binding for the use

of his family. The printing and binding of these memorial addresses cost about \$3,000. The exact figures as given in the report of the public printer for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896, are \$9,195.88 for the materials and work done in printing and binding eight thousand copies of the memorial addresses in each case of the deaths of three Senators. The average is \$3,065.29.

A similar custom prevails in the House of Representatives. The expense for printing and binding memorial addresses in memory of fifty-four deceased Senators and Congressmen from 1885 to 1895, both inclusive, was \$233,520.44.

A bill was introduced in the Senate December 3, 1895, "to provide for proper disposition of the remains of deceased members of the Senate and House of Representatives who die at the Capitol during sessions of Congress." After discussion it was referred to the Committee on Rules with instructions to report a rule on the subject matter of the bill. No report was made.

As to compensation of Senators and Representatives, it is to be "ascertained by law." That is the language of the Constitution, and it means that Congress shall fix its own compensation.

No distinction has ever been made between members of the two Houses in respect to the amount of their pay. Their compensation has always been equal. By the act of September 22, 1789, it was fixed at six dollars for every day's attendance, and an equal sum for every twenty miles' travel going to and returning from the "seat of Congress." This rule was to remain in force until March 4, 1795, when it was to be changed to seven dollars per day and mileage to correspond. March 10, 1796, the law of 1789 was re-enacted and it remained in force until the act of March 19, 1816, increased the pay to \$1,500 a year, subject to deduction for absence not occasioned by sickness or other unavoidable reason.

This act was repealed the 6th day of the following February (1817), and on January 22, 1818, the compensation of each Senator and Representative was fixed at eight dollars for every day's attendance and eight dollars "for every twenty miles of estimated distance, by the most usual road from his place of residence to the seat of Congress, at the commencement and end of every such session and meeting." This act was to cover the time from March 3, 1817, and it remained in force until August

16, 1856, when the rate of compensation was changed from eight dollars a day to \$6,000 for each Congress (two years), mileage remaining the same as before, for but only one session each year.

By act of July 28, 1866, a yearly salary of \$5,000 was allowed with mileage at the rate of twenty cents per mile to and from each regular session, "estimated by the nearest route usually travelled."

The act of March 3, 1873, fixed the salary at \$7,500 a year and actual individual travelling expenses to and from each session "by the most direct route of usual travel." This act applied to the Congress that passed it, covering two years, and from that fact became known as the "salary grab" law. It was repealed at the next session, January 20, 1874, in so far as it applied to members of the Senate and House of Representatives, and their compensation was put at \$5,000 a year with mileage at the rate of twenty cents per mile to and from each regular session.

Most of these acts were retro-active in their operation, that of September 22, 1789, covering the time from the beginning of that Congress. The act of March 10, 1796, extended back six days. The act of March 19, 1816, covered the time from March 4, 1815. The act of January 2, 1818, applied to fifty-three days of past time. The act of August 16, 1856, applied to all the time from March 4, 1855. The act of July 28, 1866, reached back to March 4, 1865. The act of March 3, 1873, covered the whole term of that Congress, beginning March 4, 1871—two years.

There has not been any general law allowing mileage for attendance upon special or extraordinary sessions. Where it has been authorized it was by special act applicable to the particular session.

There have been two rules regulating the compensation of Senators and Representatives, one before the war of the Rebellion, the other since. The earlier acts were all drawn on lines of actual service—so much a day for each day of attendance upon the sessions, excepting days of sickness or unavoidable absence. The act of 1856, in section four, provided:

"That in the event of the death of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate prior to the commencement of the first session of the Congress, he shall be entitled neither to mileage nor compensation; and in the event of death after the commencement of any session his representatives shall be

entitled to receive so much of his compensation, computed at the rate of three thousand dollars per annum, as he may not have received, and any mileage that may have actually accrued and be due and unpaid."

Section six of the same act provided:

"That it shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms of the House and secretary of the Senate, respectively, to deduct from the monthly payments to members, as herein provided for, the amount of his compensation for each day that such member shall be absent from the House or Senate respectively, unless such Representative, Senator or Delegate shall assign as the reason for such absence the sickness of himself or some member of his family."

The Vice-President, being in doubt when the compensation of Senators that had been chosen since the session commenced should begin, submitted the question to the Senate and it was referred to the Judiciary Committee, who, through Mr. Toombs, March 2, 1857, submitted a report, from which the following extracts are taken:

"Though the mode of payment is by annual salary, the consideration therefor, in the contemplation of the act (of 1856) was performance of the duties of a member of Congress when in actual session, and the times of payment seem to have been fixed during or at the end of each session, with special reference to securing this consideration. . . . Testing the cases submitted to us by those principles, we find the rule of compensation in all cases of election after the first day of the first regular session to be that the compensation does not commence until after election, and from thence to the end of the term, at the rate of \$3,000 per annum."

Minnesota was admitted as a State May 11, 1858, and her Senators, who had been elected December 19, 1857, appeared and took their seats May 12, 1858. The question when their compensation should commence arose, and the Judiciary Committee reported that they should be paid from the date of the State's admission.

They were paid from the beginning of the session at which the State was admitted. But the question was not settled. Oregon was admitted February 14, 1859, Kansas, January 29, 1861, West Virginia, December 31, 1862, Nevada, October 31, 1864. During all this time the act of 1856 was in force. Then came the act of July 11, 1866, and Nebraska was admitted March 1, 1867. The reorganization of the reconstructed States and the admission of their Senators, kept the matter alive until the new northwestern States came in. The Senators from Tennessee were seated July 27, 1866, and paid from March 4, 1865, the beginning of the Congress then in being (the thirty-fifth). A Senator from Maryland was elected for the term beginning March 4, 1867, but

he was not admitted and received no compensation. March 7, 1868, another person was elected to fill the vacancy and his salary was paid to him from March 4, 1867, the beginning of the term. Senators from Alabama, Arkansas, South Carolina and other Southern States, claimed and finally secured payment of salaries from the beginning of the terms for which they were elected without reference to the time of their election.

By a proviso in the legislative appropriation bill of July 31, 1894, it was enacted that in cases of the election or appointment of Senators after the beginning of a term, their compensation should begin the day of their election or appointment. The legislatures of Montana and Wyoming failed to choose Senators at their sessions in 1893 for the terms beginning March 4 of that year, but did elect Senators for that term at their sessions in January, 1895. The credentials of these Senators were filed in the Senate—one of them January 29, 1895, the other February 2d following. They appeared and took the oath of office, one on the second of February, the other on the sixth of the same month. By a resolution of the Senate April 24, 1896, the Secretary of the Senate was directed to pay them from March 4, 1893, the beginning of the term, until July 31, 1894, the date of the proviso in the appropriation bill above mentioned, which had taken effect nearly six months before the Senators were elected.

Section six of the act of August 16, 1856, requiring deductions of pay for absence of Senators and Representatives is preserved in the Revised Statutes, Section forty, and is now the law.

Joint Resolution No. 68, approved July, 1862, provides :

“ When any member or delegate withdraws from his seat and does not return before the adjournment of Congress he shall, in addition to the sum deducted for each day, forfeit a sum equal to the amount which would have been allowed by law for his travelling expenses in returning home; and such sum shall be deducted from his compensation, unless the withdrawal is with the leave of the Senate or House of Representatives respectively.”

This provision, also, is preserved in the Revised Statutes as Section forty-one.

A statement of the amount of money deducted from the wages of Senators in pursuance of the provisions of these two sections of the law would add greatly to the interest and value of this paper, but the writer has not been able to find accounts of that character in any of the late reports of the disbursing officer of the Senate.

The Constitution provides that:

"The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote unless they be equally divided. The Senate shall choose their other officers and also a President *pro tempore* in the absence of the Vice-President or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States."

The first duty of the Senate, on its organization, April 6, 1789, was the choosing of a President *pro tempore* for the sole purpose of opening and counting the (electoral) votes for President of the United States.*

John Langdon of New Hampshire, was chosen by ballot. After the votes had been counted and the members of the House of Representatives had retired, the Senate proceeded by ballot to the choice of President *pro tempore* and John Langdon was duly elected. He held his office only until the Vice-President appeared. In the beginning and until recently a President *pro tempore* was chosen every time the Vice-President was absent. It is now the rule that the office is held at the pleasure of the Senate; until the Vice-President resumes the chair or his term as a Senator expires, the President *pro tempore* continues in office unless the Senate otherwise determine.

During a vacancy in the office of Vice-President, and while the Vice-President exercises the office of President of the United States,† the President *pro tempore* of the Senate receives the salary of a Vice-President, but he has no vote other than that of a Senator.

Of the twenty-four Vice-Presidents, one (Calhoun) resigned; four (Gerry, King, Wilson and Hendricks) died in office; and four (Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson and Arthur) exercised the office of President of the United States during vacancies in that office occasioned by death.

All of the twenty-three Vice-Presidents preceding the present incumbent, except two (Morton and Stevenson), are dead. Their average age was seventy years.

Sixty-three Senators have served as Presidents *pro tempore*,

*Until the provisions for selecting a Vice-President were changed in 1804, that officer was not voted for at all by the Presidential Electors. They voted for "two persons" only, and when the votes were counted the person having received the highest number, if that was a majority of the whole number of electors, was declared to be President; and the person receiving the next highest number of votes was declared to be Vice-President.

† Whether a vacancy in the office of Vice-President is occasioned by that officer's exercising the office of President of the United States has not been determined.

and all but five of them, excluding the Senator (Frye) now holding that office, are dead. They belonged to twenty-two different States, Virginia leading with six; Connecticut, Georgia, North Carolina, New Hampshire, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee and Vermont each had three; Alabama, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts and Rhode Island each had two; Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey and New York each had one. The present incumbent (Mr. Frye) is from Maine.

The other important officers of the Senate are the Secretary and Sergeant-at-arms. The Secretary, in addition to his responsibility for the official conduct of a large number of clerks, readers, reporters, copyists, and other subordinates about his office, has charge of everything connected with the records, journals, reports, bills and other documents, papers and proceedings of the Senate, legislative and executive. The Secretary is also a disbursing officer and gives bond for a proper discharge of his duties as such. He receives and pays out more than a million dollars annually. This includes salaries and mileage of Senators, of officers, clerks, and other employees about the Senate. Here are the items summarized in that officer's report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1896.

Amounts expended :

Salaries and mileage (of Senators).....	\$467,175.22
Salary of Vice-President.....	6,000.00
Salaries of officers, clerks, etc.....	422,852.42
One month's extra pay to officers and employees.....	40,085.61
Salaries Capitol Police.....	19,392.53
Contingent expenses.....	165,920.55
Total	\$1,121,376.33

The Sergeant-at-Arms, with his corps of assistants, has charge of the Senate wing of the Capitol building. He takes care of the Senate chamber and all the property in it, and of the various rooms, halls and other apartments and annexes. He purchases all their furniture and other equipments. He attends to all the details of great occasions in and about the hall of the Senate—inaugurations and the like, and he or one of his assistants accompanies every Senate committee that travels by order of the Senate. He arranges for their transportation and entertainment, and pays all the bills. He executes all orders of the Senate relating to any matter of an executive character. He is

to the Senate what a marshal or a sheriff is to a court. He is the Senate's executive officer.

The principal offices of the Senate are honorable as well as responsible. They require a high order of talent combined with good executive ability. Two members of the Senate each afterwards became its Secretary. In several instances men who had been members of the House of Representatives have been elected to offices in the Senate.

The number of persons employed in one capacity or another in and about the Senate is over three hundred. An investigation recently discovered 353, among whom were 121 clerks, 57 messengers, 52 skilled laborers, 23 pages and 18 folders.

Salaries of Senate officers and employees range as follows: Laborers and pages, \$720 to \$1,000 a year; messengers and clerks to Senators, \$1,440; clerks to committees, \$1,800 to \$3,000; Secretary's chief clerk and the financial clerk, each \$3,000; Secretary of the Senate, \$5,000; Sergeant-at-Arms, \$4,500. The official reporting of the proceedings and debates is done by contract at \$25,000 a year.

At the beginning committees of the Senate were appointed only for special duties—as to wait upon the President, to prepare a rule for a particular proceeding, to consider a certain matter and report a bill, etc. The committee first appointed by the Senate consisted of five members to confer with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives and report rules to govern in cases of conference between the two houses. They were also to “take under consideration the manner of electing chaplains.” There was some feeling on the chaplaincy question, but the choice of men of different religious denominations—one for the House, the other for the Senate—disposed of the matter satisfactorily.

Gradually, as the lines of legislative procedure became marked, and as the business of Congress grew in magnitude and variety, it was found necessary as well as convenient to appoint standing committees to hold during the pleasure of the Senate for the consideration of classified subjects. There are now forty-nine standing committees of the Senate, of which one has fifteen members; six consist of thirteen members each; twelve have each eleven members; eleven have nine members; four have seven; four have five; and five have three. The others have even num-

bers and are subject to changes. There are also ten select committees.

The largest committees are those on Appropriations, Commerce, Judiciary, Pensions, Claims, Coast Defenses, District of Columbia, Finance, Foreign Relations, Immigration, Indian Affairs, Inter-state Commerce, Military Affairs, Naval Affairs, Post Offices and Post Roads, Public Buildings and Grounds, Public Lands, Railroads and Territories.*

W. A. PEPPER.

*NOTE.—In another and concluding article the privileges, powers and functions of the Senate, and its rules and methods of transacting business will be presented.